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underlies this most fundamental lateral relationship. Given the correlated basic complex of the junior levirate, by which the next eldest brother inherits a dead man's wife, it would be impossible not to have polygyny; and it is rather difficult to see how the entire system of kinship could exist without the levirate in some form.

A man always tries to obtain his actual mother's brother's daughter; if he cannot get her, he tries to marry someone as near to her in consanguinity as possible.

Usually an older male dué and male galle have an understanding that their sons and daughters shall marry. Such a betrothal could occur before the birth of either child. Sometimes a gawel will promise his wife's next daughter to his waku. Thus, even before birth there is a recognized relationship between dué and galle.

There are several degrees of marriage. As soon as a boy is circumcised and old enough to understand and remember what is told him, his galle is pointed out. At a similar age a galle mielk has her dué diramo shown to her. This is done by the male parents of both children.

The young men and women older than the two usually tease the young couple with somewhat obscene jokes about their relationship and its meaning in their physical behavior. The youngsters are usually shy and ashamed when confronted with such humor; however, as small children, when away from the elders, they play house together. They are fully aware of the sexual act and of sex differences.

About the time facial hair appears upon a boy and the breasts of a girl swell, that is, when sexual intercourse is in their power and of interest to both, they start making love trysts in the bush. They may not copulate at first, but they simulate the act in close contact.

When a girl has her first menses the mother and older women put her inside a house (no special one) and leave her. She is supposed to remain in one place and move with digging sticks as crutches. This represents the myth of the two old women who made the present world, walking with the aid of digging sticks; the older of the two was menstruating. It is believed that menstruation is due to the sexual act, and that the blood is not dangerous to a woman since it comes from the abdomen and not the heart.

When a girl's first menses are over, her father (gawel to her dué) says to her mother (mokul to her dué), "You go make a house for them and fix a camp for them. She is big enough now" (see page 129).

After this, a young couple start living together and are recognized

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moiety because I always knew I was Yiritcha (pages 29-33). I just knew it. No one told me. I cannot remember anyone telling me. I just knew it. Yiritcha people belong to my half of the people, and I knew it was wrong to play husband and wife with my sister, even though I was a small child and knew nothing. I talked to my sister then. Now I never talk to my sister (pages 65-67). I never do any of those things with my sister. I am just the same with her as I am with my Mokul Rumeru and my Momelker (pages 103-104). 159 867

Long before I was circumcised I was told to stay away from my Mokul [Mother-in-law] and her mother. They were taboo. I was told by my father and my mother and the other old people that I could not speak to them and that I must not look at them. I must never touch them, and I could not use their names. If I wanted to give them anything I must give it to another man or woman to give to them, but never could I give anything to them from my hand to theirs. If I went near them or did any of these things, the old people told me, I would get a sore in my groin and a very large swelling in that place and I would become very sick. When I was very little I walked around anywhere, and I touched anybody, and I did as I pleased, and I went near these taboo people because I didn't know any better.

I didn't know anything at that time. I thought women were just the same as men. I did not think at all. By and by, when I had grown a little, I saw that the little girls were different when I looked down at them. I thought then that they were just like my mother. About this time I noticed that some of the little boys looked different when I looked at them there. They had no foreskin on the penises, but I had a foreskin just as I had when I had come out from my mother. At first I did not say anything—I was ashamed. By and by I asked one boy why he was like that and he said he was circumcised. I asked him how it was done. He said he did it. He was lying to me because the old men had told him they would kill him by magic if he told the truth to us small boys. We could not know this until we had been circumcised ourselves. I did not know he was lying, but I felt maybe he was not telling me the truth. 159 864 159 867

When we little boys and girls played together we did it by ourselves so that no one could see. We were ashamed if we thought older people were watching and listening to what we were doing. We said things to each other about sexual intercourse and other sexual things which we did not understand. The other day I heard a little girl say to the little boy she was playing with, "You are my husband. I am your wife. Come have sexual intercourse with me." That was the kind of things we said to each other. I laughed because I remembered when we said those things and we did not know what they meant. She said it because it was part of their game. But 159 864

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159 when we grew larger we did find out and some of us became sweethearts.
864 Even today these old sweethearts still get food from us and we get food and presents from them (pages 74-92).

159 When I was a little bit bigger, after I was circumcised, we little boys
857 always made fish spears and we always carried them with us. We hunted
868 birds and fish with them. Sometimes we hit a bird, and often we caught small fish. We learned then to carry our baskets over our shoulders, under our arms, just like grown men do, just as our sisters learned to carry their baskets over their foreheads.

159 When a boy gets a little bit large and he has been circumcised, he sleeps
591 with other boys and the unmarried men and he stays away from his father's and mother's camp most of the time. It is no good for young people around where married people are. They learn too much. They see women too much. Sometimes you see these boys sitting down in a camp with the women. They are not learning the way to live properly. It is all right when they play around in their own camp and they eat there and sleep there (page 127).

MAHKAROLLA'S CIRCUMCISION

159 One day I went with an older brother down through the Barlamomo
852 country to Blue Mud Bay to invite them all to come up to my country for my circumcision (pages 259-290).

When I came back from the Blue Mud Bay country many of our relatives came with me. They brought many presents. My father took me and gave me to a man who painted me very pretty with many colors. I was afraid but I tried not to show it. I looked like I did not care what happened. I was a little bit pleased, too. I was afraid because I did not understand what was going to happen to me. I did not know it then, but my father had given that man a present to paint the picture of my totem well on my breast and belly, and also to put some of my totems (symbols) on me to get me ready (page 262).

When the old men painted me for my circumcision ceremony they put kangaroo teeth stuck in beeswax on a string and tied it around my forehead. The teeth hung on my forehead over my nose.

When some of the old men were away I asked some of the little boys what they were going to do, and one of them said he thought they were going to cut me. I was very frightened. My father had taken me a little way away from the main camp where the women stay and had brought me part way to the sacred camp of the python, where only men can go. This also frightened me.

When I heard the little boys say the old men were going to cut me I sneaked away from the little boys' camp and ran to my mother. It was